/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] haracter of their calling, and who will lend to the limited part-
nership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingual-
[426] ism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet com-
[563] missions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the pres-
ent state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that,
because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this
kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong
tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to
everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that
such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse
would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however
-- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate
with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the
young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention,
necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the
ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly
in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these
conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the
ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impres-
sion is that these relations are conceived -- today, in any case --
only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and
not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society
is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the col-
lateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent
upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this.
The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than
in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to
hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assem-
blage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that
[181] he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talïint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin," [312] tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are [433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc- [426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots [242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some [251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./
343 712 [625] village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a resonator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is especially well constructed and maintained. It is the agadir of the [621] village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). Each hearth owns one to [423] three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. Four [628] rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros, [426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives 343 712 625 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate. He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October; in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he [465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of 343 712 685 625 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 712 [621] Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims [625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the [625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as [465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his [685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

[358] Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to maintain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be- [423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.